THE INDIANS OF WASHTENAW COUNTY MICHIGAN

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PREFACE.

The object in preparing this booklet is to reduce to a few brief notes the Indian history of Washtenaw County. The remarks upon the tribes have been gleaned from many original sources which, unfortunately, disagree upon various points. A list of the more important references is appended. The notes upon archaeology are from the writer's own observations and from field work done at various times during the past thirty years. The illustrations are all from specimens duly authenticated as collected within the county, except the picture of the Chippewa bark house. The map indicating the course of trails is drawn from data mentioned in the section upon trails. The locations of village sites, cemeteries, mounds and cornfields have been verified by observations, early maps and records. Thanks are hereby extended to a number of people who have lent specimens for preparing the illustrations. It is hoped that others interested in the subject and familiar with the material of different counties will prepare papers similar to this.

References. The Hand Book of American Ethnology, published by the Government, two volumes, contains excellent and authoritative resumés of what is known about the tribes and their locations and movements at various times in the historic period. There is an excellent bibliography at the close of each chapter of the Hand Book.

The Michigan Historical and Pioneer Collections contain a large fund of excellent material not given elsewhere, but, from the nature of the case, there are many errors because the articles are made up of hearsay, "recollections," what grandfather or some "early settler" said or wrote in a letter a long time afterwards, and not from notes taken at the times of the occurrences and incidents.

Governor Alpheous Felch wrote upon The Indians of Michigan and The Cession of Their Lands to the United States by Indian Treaties, published separately and in Vol XXVI of Michigan Historical and Pioneer Collections.

Michigan, by Judge Thomas M. Cooley; Shelton's Early History of Michigan; Lanman's History of Michigan, and Moore's History of Michigan contain excellent accounts of Indian tribes. There are several other histories of the state

The Jesuit Relations are the source books from which nearly all the recent writers have drawn their information.

The Past and Present of Washtenaw County, by Samuel W. Beaks, contains a chapter upon "The First Inhabitants of the County."

History of Washtenaw County, published by C. C. Chapman & Co., 1881, may be consulted for items concerning Indians.

There is a great diversity in the spelling of names and terms applied to the Indians. The Hand Book of American Indians, issued by the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, has been taken as the guide in these pages.

THE INDIANS OF WASHTENAW COUNTY.

The Tribes.

Introduction. When one undertakes to describe the Indian antiquities of a locality, the question comes before he gets very far with it: "What Indians used to live around here?" Usually the inquirer is fully satisfied by being given two or three names of bands or tribes that are known to have been identified at some time with that place. Potawatomi and Miami, merely as group names, really mean nothing more, after all, than just Indians. If all one knows about a man is that his name is John Smith, he knows nothing of the man. To describe John Smith so that he, as an individual, may be pictured in the mind of another is to know something about him, although Mr. Smith may have been dead a hundred years. To know that the Chippewa once lived at the rapids of the St. Mary's River and not to know who the Chippewa were, their antecedents, their customs and migrations, is only to know that some people known by the tribal name of Chippewa were at some time upon the St. Mary's.

It will be observed, before one reads many paragraphs of this paper, that the phrases "it is conjectured," "perhaps," "it may be possible," "maybe," "there might have been," and similar expressions of uncertainty are of frequent occurrence. All this grows out of the conflicting records, the lack of definite statements upon the part of early writers, their own uncertainty as to what they were talking about and their lack of definite geographical knowledge of the vast expanses of territory in which they were only transients themselves, seeking for something besides the kind of information we so wish they had given.

Algonquins, Iroquois. The Indians, while being all

of the same general type, are divided into language groups or families. When their vocabularies and language forms have been compared, they have been found to fall into quite distinct stocks having but slight, if any, similarities with one another. One stock could not understand the speech of another stock. The largest language family or stock of North America is the Algonquian, which reached from Newfoundland and New England, through central Canada, to the Sioux, who lived toward the Rocky Mountains. The Algonquins, like other language stocks, were divided into numerous so-called tribes frequently speaking different dialects. The tribes that dwelt about the Great Lakes region of the United States, so far back as our history goes, were Algonquins, Iroquois and Sioux. The Algonquins were nearly cut in two by the Iroquois, who occupied New York, the north shore of the upper St. Lawrence River, the north shores of lakes Ontario and Erie and also the south side of Lake Erie. According to a map of "Linguistic Families of American Indians, North of Mexico," by J. W. Powell, published by the Bureau of American Ethnology, Iroquoian territory extends into Michigan, from the foot of Lake Huron, west nearly to Lansing, where it turns south into northern Indiana and then curves abruptly westward. Washtenaw County lies entirely within this field. It must be borne in mind constantly that no map which indicates the distribution of peoples at one time is correct for a very long time before the map was made or for very long afterward. Indian tribes, like civilized men, are constantly changing. The map of Europe with national boundaries as they are today is unlike the map of political Europe before the war. It is safe to say that Michigan Territory, before the Iroquois came, which was not long before the advent of the Whites, was occupied by Algonquin tribes for perhaps hundreds of years. One theory

about the Iroquois is that they came originally into the lands they are known to be occupying historically from the southwest about the mouth of the Ohio River, and supplanted Algonquins in New York and parts of Canada. Upon their migration eastward, they might have come into southeastern Michigan and crossed the Detroit River into Canada, which, if that migration occurred at all, was several hundred years ago. It is a fact that later certain Iroquois, coming from Canada, fought their way into those parts of this state indicated upon Major Powell's map and became known as Hurons and still later as Wyandots. They mixed and mingled in Michigan, for strategic purposes, with those Algonquins who thought it best to co-operate with them and survive than to oppose and be exterminated.

The Iroquois Federation. Five of the most powerful Iroquois tribes of New York formed an alliance, in part, for protective but mostly for aggressive warfare. Afterwards, the five took into their federation a sixth tribe. This federation is referred to as the Five Nations or the Six Nations, according to the time to which the reference is made. They were probably the most cunning, shrewd and best organized of any Indian powers. They procured firearms from the Dutch and English traders before the tribes to the west of them. This, together with their craftiness in warfare, gave them an advantage against which no other tribe or union of tribes could successfully contend. They virtually exterminated the Eries, sometimes called the Cat tribe, people of their own linguistic stock living along the south shore of Lake Erie. They carried terror as far west as to and beyond the Mississippi River. They drove all other Iroquois out of Canada as well as the most of the Algonquian tribes. The Hurons and the Neutrals, strong Iroquoian tribes though they were, could not resist the Six Nations,

and while fleeing from them out of their Canadian habitat were obliged to fight their way into Michigan. The Federation, upon its forays against the Miami and Illinois tribes, no doubt, at times trod the soil of Washtenaw County.

The Miami were a very numerous and quite widely distributed Algonquian tribe. They occupied the valleys of the Maumee, Wabash, St. Joseph and Raisin rivers, and probably that of the Huron at one time. They also extended west and northwest into Illinois and Wisconsin and south to parts of the Ohio River. The tribes were migratory, moving about a fairly well localized tribal center. Upon the outskirts of the tribal center they were displacing and being displaced as they came in contact with other bands. The Miami extended into southeastern Michigan and, no doubt, held sway for a time in Washtenaw County. Little Turtle, the great Miami chief, born in 1752 and dying in 1812, whose father was a Miami and mother a Mahican, said: "My fathers kindled the first fire at Detroit," and asserted that they extended their lines for the entire length of the Scioto River, down the Ohio to the Wabash and to Chicago. There was a Miami village at Detroit in 1703, but the chief settlements were upon the St. Joseph and at the headwaters of the Maumee. They had been overrun by the Six Nations and were not able to resist the encroachment of the Potawatomi, who forced them out of Michigan.

The Potawatomi displaced the Miami and held sway through Washtenaw County, but not without the presence here at the same time of fragments of other tribes. The Potawatomi tribe, who at their numerical maximum probably never numbered as many as three thousand individuals, were Algonquins. They appear to have wandered over territory extending from Green Bay, Wisconsin, across southern Michigan to Lake Erie, and for a time occupied Miami ter-

ritory upon the Wabash in Indiana. A few stragglers of this tribe, after they were dispossessed of their grounds in Michigan, finally located upon Walpole Island in Lake St. Clair, which is a Canadian Indian reservation. There some of their descendants are still living with Ottawa and Chippewa. The main body of these people, after the cession of their lands by treaty, finally found their way to the west. The last chief of the Michigan Potawatomi was Simon Pokagon, who died near Hartford, Van Buren County, January 27, 1899. Pokagon was recognized by all the people of his scattered tribe as their chief. He was a noble, sincere, poetical, educated, religious gentleman. Potawatomi tribes "signed" their first treaty with the United States in 1789, their last in 1872. In all they were parties to forty-seven treaties.

They had the reputation of being comparatively peaceful, honest and frugal. According to the accounts of them, they took up more readily than many other tribes the industries of the Whites. The remnant of them became worthy citizens.

The Ottawa, so far as their trails can be traced, came from Canada east of Lake Huron. They were obliged by the relentless pursuit of the Six Nations to flee, probably about the same time that the Hurons came to the west side of that great lake. They were Algonquian and closely allied with the Chippewa and Potawatomi and had friendly relations, from necessity, with the refugee Wyandots or Hurons. The great Pontiac was an Ottawa chief. His village was upon Pêche Island in Lake St. Clair. The Ottawa were very aggressive and were also feared so long as Pontiac was the organizer and leader of warlike bands against the several English posts in the Northwest Territory. Pontiac had a nephew, Okemos, something of a respectable Indian to begin

with and a renegade to end with, who used to visit Ann Arbor in the early days, followed by a reckless band of dissolute Indians and half-breeds. The Ottawa were "signers" of twenty-four treaties with the general government between 1785 and 1867, inclusive.

The Chippewa or Ojibway were one of the great Algonquian tribes who always had to be reckoned with after they became known to the Whites, which was as early as 1640. Their original home, so far as can be determined, was north and northeast of Lake Superior. They came to the Sault Ste. Marie, which was a great fishing place. Whether they first came to fish or because the Sioux had driven them there is a question, but the thousands of magnificent fish that abounded in those waters made the Sault very attractive for all Indians who knew about it. The Straits of Mackinaw was the only crossing place into the southern country until the St. Clair River was reached. It is no wonder that the Saint Mary's River and the Straits became the scenes of such notable events as occurred there. At the Straits, many tribes passed and repassed from time immemorial. The most of the fights that took place in that part of the state had for their causes the coveted privileges afforded by a commanding geographical situation.

The Chippewa were a party to every treaty in which Michigan lands were involved, except the one with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix in 1784, and that treaty only defined the limits of lands over which those Indians might think they held sway. The Iroquois called themselves the owners of lands northwest of the River Ohio and regarded the Indians who were living upon them as privileged tenants, to which, of course, the tenants did not accede. Indian boundary lines were very indefinite among themselves and overlapped. That is why every group who might claim rights was "asked

in" to be parties to settlements. Treaties were mostly for the "extinguishing of titles" and some of the extinguishing processes had to be gone through with numbers of times upon the part of the United States. The treaty of Detroit, 1807, was the fourth purchase that was made of the counties of Monroe, Lenawee, Wayne, Washtenaw, Macomb, Oakland, Livingston, St. Clair, Lapeer, and Genesee and portions of Jackson, Ingham, Shiawassee, Tuscola and Sanilac. This bargain eliminated the Chippewa, Ottawa, Potowatomi and Wyandots as claimants to the area involved, and, while they ceded their lands unconditionally, they were unwilling to relinquish possession. Explanation of the meaning of treaties will be made under "property." Washtenaw County was, at this period, a common hunting ground for these four tribes. The Chippewa at one time or another undoubtedly had villages and hunted in every county of the state. They have ranged more than 1,000 miles from east to west and are estimated to have numbered about 25,000 in 1764. They were expert canoemen and frequented the streams and lakes. The Chippewa were divided into a dozen or more gentes and numerous sub-tribes. Between 1785 and 1867 inclusive, these Indians were parties to forty-seven different treaties with the United States.

Sauk. There was an Algonquian tribe called the Sauk or Sack. The Sauk were more numerous upon the west side of Lake Michigan in Wisconsin, but a large band of them at one time lived around the head of Saginaw Bay and upon the Saginaw River and its tributaries. Black Hawk said that the Great Spirit first placed the Sac Nation in the vicinity of Montreal. The Potawatomi, Ottawa and Chippewa were unfriendly to the Sauk. The Hurons also meddled in the quarrel among these four Algonquin tribes. The Chippewa, Potawatomi and Ottawa formed a kind of

loose confederacy. This federation, called the Three Fires, was for the mutual advantage of those federated.

It may be remarked that the name of the bay, river and county upon which and in which the Sauk lived took the name Sauk-i-naw from them. According to story, tradition and some authentic history, the Sauk of the Saginaw country were much reduced by warfare with their enemies and were obliged to leave the district. Numbers of them escaped to the southern part of the state. The Old Indian trail from Detroit to Chicago was known as the Sauk trail. This trail, when Michigan became a territory, was made into a military road by the United States government, 1825. It is now the magnificent highway across the state. In the southwestern part of the county there were two trails following up the River Raisin to Manchester. The trail upon the west bank was used by the Sauk, that upon the other side by the Potawatomi. These trails appear to have united at Manchester and led on into Jackson County.

A treaty was negotiated at Fort Harmer, at the mouth of the Muskingum River, upon the Ohio, by General St. Clair on January 9, 1789. The Sauk were a party to this treaty. The treaty of Greenville in 1793, March 3, was "signed" by Wyandots, Delewares, Shawanese, Ottawa, Chippewa, Potawatomi, Miami, Eel Rivers, Weas, Kickapoos, Piankashaws and Kaskaski, all Algonquins, but the Sauk evidently had become so few that they were a negligible party by that time and in the territory involved. The Eel Rivers, Weas and Piankashaws were virtually sub-tribes of Miami.

The treaty of Detroit, 1807, which was the last one in which Washtenaw lands were involved, was acceded to by the chiefs and warriors of the Algonquian tribes, Chippewa,

Ottawa and Potawatomi and by the Wyandots, who were originally of Iroquoian stock, and the same people as the Hurons. The Sauk and Mascoutens, by this time, were all gone from the section involved.

Black Hawk, born in Illinois in the Sauk village at the mouth of Rock River, 1767, started a little Indian insurrection upon the Mississippi in 1832. His grievances were about the same as those that had fired the great Tecumseh, the Shawnee chief, more than twenty years before. He was a Sauk and a subordinate chief of united bands of Sauk and Foxes. The excitement among the pioneers and frontiersmen of southern Michigan, lest the Black Hawk War should disturb them in some way, was considerable. This was the last heard of the Sauk in Michigan.

The Mascoutens lived somewhere in the central part of the Lower Peninsula. They probably moved under pressure from Ottawa and other tribes south from near Mackinaw to the Grand River and below. It is thought that they were well established for some time in Kalamazoo and adjoining counties. If so, they may have had lodges as far east as the Saline River. The Mascoutens were closely affiliated with, if they were not the same as, the Asseguns. They were Algonquins and, since they were parties to no treaties concerning Michigan territory, were not regarded as having any land right to relinquish. Considerable mystery and uncertainty hang over the Mascoutens of this state.

The Wyandots and the Hurons were one and the same people and, as has been said, of Iroquoian stock. After a respite from the necessity of getting out of Canada and winning a foothold west of Lake Huron they regained their tribal confidence and became people of importance in eastern Michigan and northwestern Ohio, being parties to nineteen

treaties, the first in 1785, the last in 1867. There was a Wyandot village and cemetery at Ypsilanti. What other lodges they had in the county we cannot say, but no doubt there were several sites which cannot now be located. The city of Wyandot upon the Detroit River and Brownstown, in Wayne County, were their main villages. After they relinquished their claims and titles in the treaty of Detroit in 1807 they were very reluctant to vacate their homes and hunting grounds.

The Foxes probably had the same original antecedents as the Sauk, with whom they were intimately related. They were the one Algonquian tribe with whom the French waged war. They lived in Wisconsin along the river that bears their name. The French attacked them there for their interference with the traders around Green Bay. According to the old reports the Foxes were a vicious horde. In retaliation against the French and in supposed secret league with the Iroquois, they came, in 1712, to eastern Michigan with the determination to destroy Detroit. The French commandant at the Detroit post, M. Du Buoisson, called in his allies, the Potawatomi, Ottawa and Hurons, to assist in resisting the attack. After some shrewd display of desperate means upon both sides and several days of fighting, the Foxes withdrew. During this foray, in going, coming or while staying in the vicinity of the Detroit River and Lake St. Clair, they must have depended somewhat upon the Washtenaw hunting grounds. Such parties had to live entirely "off the country" and the daily means of subsistence required that hunting parties be kept constantly in the woods looking for game for miles around.

Mahican. In April, 1680, La Salle, accompanied by four other Frenchmen and a Mahican Indian, went down the Huron River. These Frenchmen were probably the first

white men to be in the county. If one wishes to check up all the different Indian tribal representatives that have been here he can mark Mahican as one, at least. The Mahicans were Algonquins and occupied both banks of the Hudson River in eastern New York, from which region La Salle's Indian hunter came. By 1721, a band of Mahicans had established a village in Ashland County, Ohio, and wandered as far west as Indiana. Besides the one individual referred to, it is possible that hunting parties of these people had traversed southeastern Michigan, including Washtenaw County. This is merely a conjecture. Yet there is one Mahican, at least, to our credit.

Futility of Trying to Map the Tribes. It is frequently remarked: "If I only had a map giving the location of the tribes, I could understand how the Indians were distributed." It is perfectly futile to undertake such a map, because, during the historic period, the tribes were roving, changing and migrating. A map that would be fairly accurate for the period 1650-1700 would be entirely different for the period of 1700-1750. One studying a period can graphically express it upon a chart, but, that done, his chart would be nothing but a sheet of misinformation as applying to a few years afterward. There are some very excellent maps outlining the treaty boundaries of the state and nation, but they are legal documents having slight ethnological value. The notes that have been given in this chapter, if at all accurate, clearly show the danger of too explicit statement, and the errors would become glaringly apparent upon a single or many maps. All I have tried to do is to mention the names of the groups we know about and to indicate their shifting relations with reference to Washtenaw County.

Before the advent of white men there was more stability of aboriginal residence. When the Indians got fire-arms and

other weapons and tools from the French, Dutch and English, their disposition was changed. Besides, the whites themselves, either consciously or unconsciously, incited the tribesmen to become restive. The very presence of a foreign element so different from their own in custom and ambition would, of itself, react upon the Indians' emotional temperament and stimulate their excitability.

Folkways.

We must now put out of our minds our own customs, habits, modes of thought and ways of doing things. We must picture a people in a different culture who knew nothing about iron, machines, wheels, lumber, or cloth, save of the crudest kind made of reeds and shreds of bark; who had no system of writing; whose only domestic animals were dogs; who lived mostly in the woods; frequented the streams and the lakes; traveled upon foot or in canoes and were obliged to spend their lives in a perpetual struggle to keep from starving, freezing and being killed by accident or the attack of foes.

Tools and Utensils. Everyone has seen numbers of what we call flint arrowheads, spears, knives, scrapers and drills. We find occasionally a stone axe or hatchet. Once in a while there is dug up a piece of pottery which indicates that the Indians knew how to model in clay and make crude receptacles. They were very good carpenters and with their flint implements made huts, boats, paddles, bows and arrows, bark boxes and baskets, bowls, traps, and other like necessities of wood. They constructed their dome-shaped houses from bark, which was held in place by poles bent together and forming a frame. The fires in the lodges were built in the center, the smoke escaping by a hole in the top. Indians

had no stoves and never built chimneys. The clothing was made from the skins of animals. Sometimes crude mantles were woven, and mats from reeds and bast, which is the inside fiber of the bark of trees. Specialized tools were used for preparing skins and in weaving.

In the Museum at the University is a fairly representative collection of Indian relics from the county, numbering over seven hundred specimens. The collection includes, besides hundreds of flint spears, arrowheads, knives, scrapers and drills, celts, grooved axes, pipes, gorgets, banner-stones, bird-stones, pottery fragments, skulls and a few unclassified pieces. In the hands of private collectors, there must be several thousand other pieces that ought to be assembled at the Museum. If that could be done, the archaeology of the locality could be studied very advantageously and conveniently by the public at large.

A large number of the implements were made of wood and other perishable material. All the artifacts that we are able to reclaim are such as were made of bone, shells, horn, stones and flints, clay or something else that has not decayed by being exposed upon or in the ground.

Clothing. The kind of wearing apparel that people have can be known by the kind of material they had for making it. The forms of the apparel will be somewhat the shapes of the stuff of which it is made. Animal skins were the chief supply for clothing. Large skins did not require much tailoring. Small skins like those of the beaver, mink, raccoon, had to be sewed together with sinew or bast. The skin of a full-grown bear made a very good robe without much work upon it except the tanning, and the Indians were good tanners. Leggings and moccasins were made for the protection of the legs and feet, but aside from them the

Indians' clothes never "fitted." They were worn as loose skirts, shoulder cloaks, loin cloths and frocks. The Indians were very partial to ornaments. They painted their bodies and faces. They wore pendants, beads, brooches, hair ornaments, ear and nose rings. These things may be classified as jewelry, although made of pieces of slate, clam shells, bones, baked clay and native copper. Sometimes the "jewels" of a single individual weighed several pounds, all attached to the body in one place or another and in one way or another The most of the specimens in the illustration marked pendants and gorgets were actually jewelry and, except in the matter of size, kind of material and brilliancy, they were not so very unlike our own fobs, lockets, brooches, buckles and bangles.

Food. The Indian was a hunter by trade. The food supply, owing to the limited means of getting it, was more or less precarious. When the results of the hunt were more than sufficient to supply the daily needs, meats were preserved for future use by drying in the sun and smoking over fire. Scarcity of provisions was always threatening. Hunting and fishing were more or less uncertain. With bow and arrow, the Indians were not so certain of success as hunters with guns, and they could not get so much, no matter how accurate the aim. They were good fishermen, considering their fishing gear. They made some nets, but no hooks such as we use. Fish were taken with spears pointed with flint, bone and horn. Almost everything that lived in the water was eaten: frogs, tadpoles, turtles, clams, fish. Wild fowl was abundant upon the waters and the Indians had some success in capturing the birds with their crude devices.

The men did the hunting. The women and children contributed largely to the stock of food by gathering berries and such wild fruits as were to be found and by digging in the

ground for a few edible wild roots. In estimating the foods of the Indians, we are likely to overlook the fact that they were to a considerable extent agriculturists. Considering their tools, the women were successful raisers of corn, beans and squashes. Every village that was not occupied all the time with securing food from the water had its cornfields and the yields of corn were several bushels per person. Corn was converted into food by cooking it "green," grinding it into meal and making cakes and porridge, parching and making hominy. The grinding of corn required a special contrivance called mortar and pestle. Only one or two Indian planting fields can be definitely located within the county. There were many of them, according to the reports of pioneers, but they are so indefinitely described that I hesitate to locate more than two. One was on the north side of the river, Section 12, Scio Township, nearly opposite the mouth of Honey Creek. One of the important old Indian villages of the county was at this point and four trails converged there, as indicated upon the map. This field and village are now flooded by Barton dam. There was an extensive planting ground about a mile and a half below Ypsilanti, upon the south side of the Huron River.

Some Indians made salt by evaporation of the brackish water of salt springs. The salt springs by the Saline River just below the town of Saline, were known to the Indians. There were a village and an Indian cemetery there. Six trails met at that point. In those days the Saline River was navigable for canoes. This fact and the meeting of so many trails indicate that Saline was one of the important Indian centers of the county. Wild ruminating animals, always craving salt, were attracted by the places where salt impregnated the soil. Such places were called "licks" by the early settlers. At the licks the Indians would lie in hiding for the

deer, elk and buffalo to come for the salt.

Property. The Indians had no conception of individual property rights in land. The tribal lands were not held by any bounden rights and were on the communal system. A family might be granted, by the rest of the community, the privilege of a place to build their wigwam and for a cornfield, but nothing in the way of landed proprietorship. "All property was in common according to the ancient law of the ancestors." This lack of entire comprehension as to land titles is what led to the misunderstanding of their treaties. The most of them, if not all, supposed when they acceded to treaty bargains that they were simply granting the other party the same and only the same opportunities as they gave one another—that is, a place for a temporary home, rights to hunt in the woods, to navigate the streams and lakes, to breathe the air and to "enjoy" whatever other benefits might occur from the situation, without molestation upon their part. They could not grasp the idea of land title and probably little pains were taken to explain it to them. With this lack of understanding the significance of real estate and landlord, it is no wonder that they resisted. The white pioneer who bought the land of the Government had the legal right upon his side clearly enough, but the moral right which rested somewhere, probably with the Government, is not so clear. In many cases, the Potawatomi for instance, the Indians were forcefully driven out of southern Michigan by troopers, to reservations that had been made for them in the West. Legal right and might were against them. This is another example of the operation of the law of human action: The "savage" must succumb to the "civilized."

Indians had not the slightest conception of values according to our standards. They had no medium of exchange like money. Bargaining was by barter, each party giving to the

other something for what he wanted more than what he was offering in the trade. The white traders, all of whom were sharpers, took advantage of this simple custom of the Indian, who was willing to give up a bale of beaver skins for a string of glistening beads or, what he wanted more while it lasted, intoxicating liquor.

They got on very well among themselves with their own system of commerce, but it was their undoing when bargaining with the Whites. The psychology of the two races was radically different and that of either does not admit of harmonious adjustment to the other.

The Indians had not arrived at that stage of culture described by the word business. So far as comprehension of a transaction in real estate is concerned the whites might as well have been negotiating with the buffalo for their pasture fields.

Mr. Justin Winsor makes clear the Indians' idea of a joint occupation of their lands with the Europeans. Their fancy was that the newcomers might abide here without displacing them. "The natives in giving deeds of lands * * * had apparently no idea that they had made an absolute surrender of territory." They imagined that a joint occupancy was possible, each party being at liberty to follow his own ways and interests without interference of the other. That is why the Indians did not, of their own volition, move off to a distance, and continued to frequent their old haunts with the hope of deriving advantages from their white neighbors.

Mr. Charles J. Latrobe, an Englishman of great descriptive talent, who was in Chicago in September, 1833, at the time Government agents were negotiating the treaty of that year with the Chippewa, Ottawa and Potawatomi, wrote that

"The business of arranging the terms of an Indian treaty, whatever it might have been two hundred years ago, while the Indian tribes had not, as now, thrown aside the rude but vigorous intellectual character which distinguished many among them, now lies chiefly between the various traders, agents, creditors and half-breeds of the tribes, on whom custom and necessity have made the degraded chiefs dependent."

Religion and Medicine can hardly be separated in the conceptions of primitive peoples. They were both largely practices of magic. Indians were very religious, but according to our conception were ridiculous in their grotesque forms of demonstrating their emotional feelings. They did not have a conception of a personal god, but thought the affairs of men and of the rest of the physical world were influenced by intangible powers that had the ability to enter into all kinds of objects in order to work good or evil. If one had an accident, fell ill or died, the misfortune was ascribed to a spiritual influence and hence medicine was taken to thwart that influence. If one had good luck he asked the influence that made the luck to continue. He took medicine to keep away evil and to importune good. This we call superstition. That grade of religion which conceives all things to be permeated by an animating force is called animism. For the Indians this force influenced all objects, from the sun in the heavens to the leaves that fell from the trees. Religious festivals were held before going fishing, upon the hunt, planting corn and gathering the harvest, to please the intangible forces and to bring good luck. One will readily perceive that with such a religion a considerable time had to be spent in propitiating and flattering the powers.

Warfare was not, as so many imagine, the business of Indians, although, like other races of men, they indulged in

the slaughter of one another. A few, perhaps, like the Iroquois, enjoyed fighting as a sport. Wars were not going on all the time the country over, by any means. Tribes had to resist encroachment, and when their hunting grounds were inadequate for their subsistence they became aggressive and fought their way, if they could, into new fields. The outfit of a warrior was about the same as that of a hunter, the difference being mainly for the kind of game pursued. There are no evidences that any battles were ever fought in this county, not even in historic times when so much blood was being shed along the Detroit River and in the Saginaw country.

Those who have formed their opinion of Indians from story books and half-truthful reports generally have the idea that they were scalpers. So long as the knife that an Indian had was made of flint, the collection of scalps was not easy, even after the victim had been killed, but after the French and English had supplied their Indian allies with steel knives and offered bounties for scalps of the enemy, scalping became a business. Scalps and furs were taken for the same identical object, except that the furs were sold and the scalps were paid for in bounties, not much of a distinction. Vengeance was not the only reward the warriors had in view.

Village Sites. Indians lived in communities. Probably a single family never lived far from a group of others. If they occupied a place temporarily, it was a camp. If the occupancy was more or less permanent, it was a village. But the construction, whether of camp or village, was about the same, flimsy and insubstantial so far as the dwellings were concerned. As will be observed by the map, we are able to locate with accuracy only eight village sites in the county. There were others. It is reported there were several in the townships of Lyndon, Dexter, Sylvan and Man-

chester. Every square mile of the country will have to be walked over in order to locate village and camping places that are not matters of record. A site of this kind is recognized by finding within a very small compass quantities of refuse, such as implements, broken pottery, fireplaces and the like. Burying grounds are a usual accompaniment of a village, and if one is found near by, the number of skeletons it yields, after careful digging, indicates the size of the village or the length of time that it was used, the rule being that the greater the number of skeletons, the bigger the town. Some burying places are supposed to have been the scenes of battle; that being granted, the rule works, the more numerous the bodies the bigger the fight. A real Indian cemetery is identified by its containing skeletons of men, women and children. A burial place yielding only skeletons of adult men probably actually is on an old battlefield.

Earthworks. There were four or five mounds in the county, perhaps more. Three of them were within a half-mile of the Huron River, on the north side, a mile northwest of Geddes. Another is reported as having stood in Section 35, Webster Township. The mounds northwest of Geddes contained human skeletons, flint and deer-horn implements, pottery, shell beads, and a few other articles that appear to identify the builders with some old Algonquian stock. They were evidently pre-historic. The Dexter road mound seems to be more recent than the others. It contained nothing but human bones.

Trails and Streams.

Man is a traveler, consequently a road builder. Primitive men had to get about. Their first roads were mere

paths through the woods, across the plains and over the mountains. There was not much building about the paths and trails to begin with, but there were permanent traces worn by human feet and the hoofs of animals leading from place to place. Indians, deer and buffalo frequently followed the same path. They unconsciously picked the most feasible ways; the animals going to and from feeding grounds and water, the men from village to village, from stream to stream and tracking the very animals which a little time before may have preceded them.

Before the Indians had horses, the trails were not so distinct as they became afterwards. Finally the trails were followed by the pack-horses and cart wheels of settlers. At this point real road building began, but the lines had been surveyed, so to speak, by the Indians' sagacity in picking the very best ways.

Besides trails leading locally to hunting grounds, villages and lakes, there were "through lines." A trail may be traced from the Straits of Mackinaw to the Gulf of Mexico, from the lakes, across the plains, to the Rocky Mountains, and from the head of Lake Erie to the tidewaters of the Atlantic. Some of the long-distance trails were known as war trails. The trails were also used in times of peace. Parties took long journeys for hundreds of miles for trade. People living in Michigan wanted articles and material they had to import from elsewhere, while those living elsewhere wanted Michigan products. Flint from Ohio and farther south, mica from North Carolina, obsidian from the Rocky Mountains and sea shells from the Gulf of Mexico have been collected in this county. Copper from the Lake Superior region had found its way to the Indians of the east, the Gulf states and far west. This commerce passed over the trails.

Pontiac was probably present with bands of Ottawa and Chippewa at the defeat of Braddock upon the Monongahela River in Pennsylvania, July 9, 1755. When he was killed in 1769, at Kahokia, Illinois, he was six hundred miles from his village in Lake St. Clair. Tecumseh, in person, visited the Seminoles in Florida and the plains tribes upon the Missouri, on the western boundary of Iowa. The tramps of these Indians covered thousands of miles. Considering the time Tecumseh consumed in his trips, he made astonishing progress, which would have been impossible if the trails had not been definite and direct.

Writers upon early times in southern Michigan speak of seeing large parties of Indians, sometimes numbering three hundred, going to and from Fort Maulden, which was situated a few miles below Detroit upon the Canadian side of the river. From 1811 to 1832, the British Government issued bounties to the Indians who had been their allies in the war of 1812. The issues were made at Maulden. By this time the Indians had ponies. They followed the same trails their ancestors or some other Indians had trodden upon foot for many years before. Those trails that led directly to the Detroit River became worn deeply by the ponies' feet and some of them can be seen yet in woods and across fields that have never been plowed. At several points the trail from Ypsilanti to Saline can be seen in Pittsfield Township. The attached map indicates this trail. A strip of it can be discerned at the village site N. W. quarter, Sec. 27. One of the paths crossing West Park in Ann Arbor follows the trail that led from Allen Creek to Dexter.

The map indicates the Indian trails of the county very accurately. It has been compiled from several sources. Mr. Orange Risdon, one of the first Government surveyors of

southern Michigan, left a very good map, made in 1825, of this section, upon which he traced the trails and also indicated the highways that follow some of them. Mr. John Farmer's maps of 1826, 1831 and 1836 indicate the Indian trails and village sites that were known to him. The late Mr. L. D. Watkins also prepared a map of the county which has many features of interest in locating trails and villages. The surveyors who were in the employ of the general government made note of many of the trails, giving to the chain and link the exact points at which they observed them. All these sources and several others have been used in preparing the map. So it is put forth with a considerable degree of confidence in its accuracy. Some of the village sites and cemeteries and all the mounds have been put down as the result of field observation.

The long trail from Detroit to Chicago and beyond has been mentioned in speaking of the Sauk Indians. It entered the county, Section 1, Ypsilanti Township, and led almost straight in a diagonal course, passing through Saline, leaving the county Section 23, Bridgewater Township. There was a well-used path coming up the Huron from Lake Erie, which passed through what is now the city of Ann Arbor and led almost directly west, the line of which is followed by Liberty Street to the southwest corner of Section 27, Scio Township. At this point it deflected north for about a mile, turned west along the lot line two miles north of the south boundary of Lima and Sylvan townships. This trail led to the mouth of St. Joseph River and was known as the St. Joseph trail. It was a direct path from Detroit River to Lake Michigan. Two or three paths branched off from the Sauk trail at Ypsilanti, which took about the same course as the river to Dexter. The one along the course of the river was used in dry weather. At other

times the upland trail was used. The Dexter road is built upon this trail with few and slight deviations. From Dexter, a trail led northwesterly and reached the Grand River and was a collateral of the Grand River trail from Detroit to Grand Haven. Two trails connected with the ford at Ann Arbor from the east through Plymouth. It will be observed, as emphasized before, the public highways that do not follow the points of the compass, that run on diagonals and curves, are but white men's improvements of the Indians' old trails. Besides the long-distance trails, there were minor and shorter ones intersecting in almost all directions.

Streams. Much travel was by water. Creeks that appear to us to be insignificant afforded passage for the small, light canoes of the Indians. Before the forests were cleared away and the land prepared for tillage, the volumes of water in streams were more constant. Floods were not so violent, owing to the natural obstruction of the channels. The flow-off being steadier, canoeing was possible for several months of the year. Mill Creek was a navigable stream beyond Jerusalem in Lima Township. Canoes could come up to and beyond Saline from Lake Erie by the way of Raisin and Saline rivers. Canoes carrying a ton or more could ascend the Huron and by the way of Big and Little Portage lakes and Portage River connect with the headwaters of the Grand in southeastern Ingham County. Flemming Creek was navigable for several miles above its mouth near Geddes. The Raisin afforded easy access to the southwestern parts of the county and facilitated canoe travel well into Jackson County. If it be borne in mind that the water-table of southern Michigan has been lowered five and one-half feet since drainage improvements have been made, one can more readily appreciate the force of what has been remarked about the original depths of the brooks, creeks and rivers.

Changes in Culture.

Definition. The word culture is in constant use by those who describe the habits of men. It signifies modes of living, motives and actions. Culture is continuous, although changing, and individuals are constantly dropping out. It flows like the volume of a mighty stream which began with the first human group and will bear on so long as humanity endures. All people live in their culture. We cannot escape from it any more than we can avoid our environment. The very idea is ridiculous. It includes whatever we live by, with and in—clothing, food, housing, neighbors, families, manners, religion, politics, education, machinery, hunting, warfare, the arts of peace and all else that enters into community living, personal and party behavior.

Sudden Change in Culture. The Indians, their freedom limited, no longer able to follow their primitive ways and incapable of taking up white men's customs without generations of education and instruction, had no alternative except to become the disheartened wards of civilization.

During the two centuries before the tribes were forcibly removed from the state, Washtenaw and adjoining counties afforded hunting so long as the game lasted, and parties of hunters from among the Indian squatters at Detroit wandered through the woods, over the openings and by the lakes and streams, for a hundred miles about, seeking fish and mammals. Detroit was a great gathering place for many tribes, a complete catalogue of whose names is impossible. While the French régime lasted, parties friendly to French control flocked there both to participate in the excitement of war, if any fighting was to be done, and to get the trivial gifts that were handed out to them. Detroit was a great fur market where hunters and trappers could exchange their

catches for articles which, mostly, they should not have had. When Detroit became a British post, some of those tribes who were allies of the French shifted their allegiance to the British and had their rendezvous there or near by. The Indian had lost his character. He fell a ready victim to the vices and did not take up any of the few virtues of the Whites. One who takes the Indian camping near a military post or a pioneer village as a type of the pre-historic Indian misses his understanding of him as much as if he were to take an indigent loafer as a fair specimen of the industrious village in which he is seen lounging shiftlessly about. The chiefs had lost forever all capacity for independent initiative.

The actual Indian history of a territory cannot be compiled as can other history. As intimated, the Indians' behavior changed, we can safely affirm, from almost the day Columbus discovered America. From the time of the first colony, European innovation commenced and the foreign influence preceded by hundreds of miles and many years the actual appearance of white men in any particular locality. The spread of horse culture over the western plains illustrates this. No sooner had the Spaniards entered the continent, bringing horses with them, than some of the horses escaped or were turned loose to become wild and to be captured by Indians, who rode them all over the plains country in advance of the Whites themselves. The distribution of horses among the Indians from the original center may be dated from 1541, the time of Coronado's invasion. Steel tools and fire-arms went in advance of the men who were responsible for bringing them into the country.

What is actually known of pre-historic Indian customs can, in part, be gathered from the tales told by chroniclers. These narratives are more or less inaccurate necessarily, if not intentionally colored. The inability of writers fully to

comprehend the purport of Indian languages and the Indians' inability to express themselves and to clothe their ideas in a strange tongue caused many errors of written statement.

The most accurate records of the aborigines are learned from the tools they left; the graves in which they buried the bodies of their dead with, almost always, the properties of the deceased; from the mounds and earthworks they constructed; their village sites and whatever non-perishable relics they left. Different tribal groups had different customs and ways of making and doing things. Many of these specimens indicate who the makers were, just as if one were to find a dinner plate with a London proof mark upon it, he could safely say that the plate is English.

If an archaeologist should find an arrowhead with a notched base or a stone axe with a groove around it or a "bird-stone," he would draw the conclusion that it was made by some Algonquian. If he should find a high mound, and in the mound should find decorated pottery with certain designs upon it, he would say some people akin to the Indian mound-builders of Ohio had lived there and had done the work, and this no matter what particular group of Indians was found living in that locality when the first white men came.

Value of Archaeology.

One who is not familiar with the types of archaeological specimens is likely to assume that those found in a locality were made by the tribe that is known, historically, to have lived there. There is no justification for attributing to the Potawatomi all or any of the relics found in territory that the Potawatomi are known to have inhabited.

No one knows how many other bands that, perhaps cen-

turies ago, lived in Washtenaw County lost or, for some other reason, left their tools behind them. There is a resemblance among nearly all artifacts necessitated by the kind of material from which they were wrought. However, archaeologists are able to identify many of them with certain makers. A particular touch to an arrowhead, a stone ax, the shape and decoration of old pottery, the size, shape and construction of mounds and embankments, the peculiarities of burial places, the contents of graves including both skeletons and "gifts" to the spirit of the dead, or whatever else was associated with a site—these are keys to determining the makers.

There is archaeological evidence that makes it very probable that the mound-building Indians of the Ohio country, in pre-historic times extended their domains as far north as the valleys of the Grand and Rouge rivers. The Huron valley was probably known to those people. Of course, we do not know definitely who those builders of mounds were by tribal name, although we do know they were very distinctive from those who made the simple egg-shaped pottery found here. There were several tribes of them, who had similar habits, two of which were the construction of large mounds and the making of a peculiar type of pottery vessels. The mound-building people did something besides pile up great heaps of earth. They conducted themselves, in the main, like other Indians and, like them, gave a kind of individuality to some of their products, such as tobacco pipes, ornaments, earthenware and "altars" and receptacles for their dead. So far as I know, the finds and works of this county are mostly typical of various Algonquins. Very few Iroquoian specimens, if any, have come to light in Washtenaw. When the Six Nations blustered through this section they did not remain in one place long enough to scatter

specimens of their handicraft and they were at that time using white man's implements.

The Sauk, Mascoutens, Chippewa and Potawatomi were more or less split tribes with sub-tribes upon both sides of Lake Michigan. Those upon the west side were influenced culturally by non-Algonquin, Siouan, traits, some of which are detectable upon the east side of the lake as well. Iroquoian traits, besides those introduced directly by the Hurons, were likely to have been borrowed by the Chippewa and Ottawa, hostile as they may have been to the Six Nations. As stated, the Ohio culture, before the northern Algonquins came in, reached beyond Grand River. If these points are correct—and they are based upon evidence that amounts tc more than mere presumption—there are in the Michigan ethnological and archaeological complex at least four elements to be sifted out, but probably not so many in this county. Since it is impossible at this time to determine when the first men came into this region, it may be that there were predecessors of those of whom we really have some definite knowledge. Careful archaeological investigation may clear up this point. The uncertainty gives zest to the study of the problem.

Do We Owe the Indian Anything?

Right or wrong, the world over, from the most ancient times to 1927, weaker races of men have had to give way to the stronger. It was inevitable, so soon as America became known to white people, that white people would possess the land. The Indian had to give up his possessions and get out of the way by reason of the inexorable law that primitive cultures must yield to those more complex and better organized, unless in some menial capacity he could serve his supplanters, and the Indian's disposition did not make him a

useful servant or "mixer" in citizenship. Indians were not the chosen people to inherit the earth. If we owe them anything, one debt is for the land itself. They have given us or we have taken over from them some very valuable property besides. How could the agriculture of the country be carried on without corn, for example? Nothing was known of this cereal before the Discovery, but it has become almost the foundation of agriculture in many states. That of it which we do not eat ourselves comes to us indirectly through the medium of our domestic animals. Several varieties of field beans and squashes we also got from the Indians. We learned from them to make sugar from the sap of maple trees. Some of their words we have adopted into our speech, especially place names. If we were to go outside the United States for Indian contributions to our present day living, we would give them credit for potatoes that came from South America, sweet potatoes from Central America, and among other things, the very bitter quinine that we all have to take to keep from "becoming malarial." Tapioca is another vegetable contribution from South America.

Users of tobacco have the Indian horticulturist to thank or to blame for it. Probably in the Indian culture tobacco should be classified with medicine. It was used in the medico-religious rituals with ceremony. Bargains were "bound" by formalities of smoking, treaties were consumated by it. The peace pipe is notorious.

When the first travelers came into the land, Indians served as guides and their trails were the roads traveled. In this way they contributed to the advancement of civilization and at the same time were taking the path to their own sad destiny as a race.

Place Names. Nearly every Indian tribe and band and many chiefs have left names of towns, counties, townships,

rivers and lakes. Of all the important tribes, the Potawatomi only appear to have been overlooked in the giving of names in Michigan. The Hurons are liberally commemorated. At one time there were five streams in the state called Huron River. The names of three of these have been changed. The largest river flowing through Washtenaw County is still the Huron. Perhaps the explanation for so many Hurons is that bands of Huron Indians were widely scattered over the state and the name, being euphonious, became common, yet it was given by the French to the tribes who bear it in contempt, the insinuation being people of too much rough hair, like an animal. A liberal translation of the word in slang is "rough neck."

Besides Huron, there is but one other Indian place name in the county and that is the name of the county itself. The Grand River, before it was so named by the French, was called by the Indians Washtenong. The land along certain courses of the stream was called the Washtenong country. The Grand River rises in what was, at one time, a part of this county and the name appears to have come with the land. The name of the state is also "Indian."

Upon Otsego Lake in New York, near the old home of James Fenimore Cooper, is a tablet which poetically and truthfully, though pathetically, expresses a world of meaning. Generalize it and it serves as an eloquent requiem for the uncorrupted Indian and his untainted culture, now gone forever:

"WHITE MAN GREETING.

WE; NEAR WHOSE BONES YOU STAND
WERE IROQUOIS. THE WIDE LAND
WHICH NOW IS YOURS WAS OURS.
FRIENDLY HANDS HAVE GIVEN BACK
TO US ENOUGH FOR A TOMB."

WASHTENONG.

An old song that was very popular in early times with the pioneers of the Washtenong River Country before the name Grand River was generally accepted:

On emerald bank of woodland bowers
Bespangled with bright roseate flowers
Begirts this beauteous forest stream
That glides afar like fairy dream.
Where wild birds with their vocal song
Chant praise to thee, fair Washtenong.

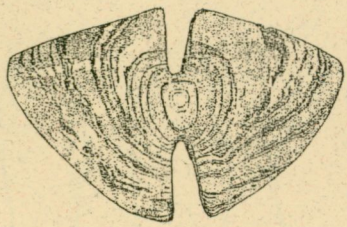
Here does the wild deer feed and lave
His graceful limbs beneath thy wave.
In stately form and conscious pride
The wild fowls o'er thy billows glide.
While Whippoor-wills sing pensive song
Mid thy fair groves, fair Washtenong.

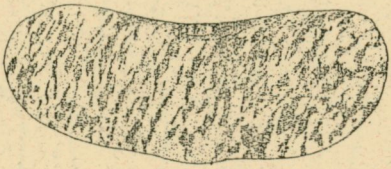
Here bark canoes that once did rest
Upon thy bosom's placid breast
Have floated down time's trackless shore;
A name they've left and nothing more.
Methinks the Indian Maiden's song
Laments for thee, fair Washtenong.

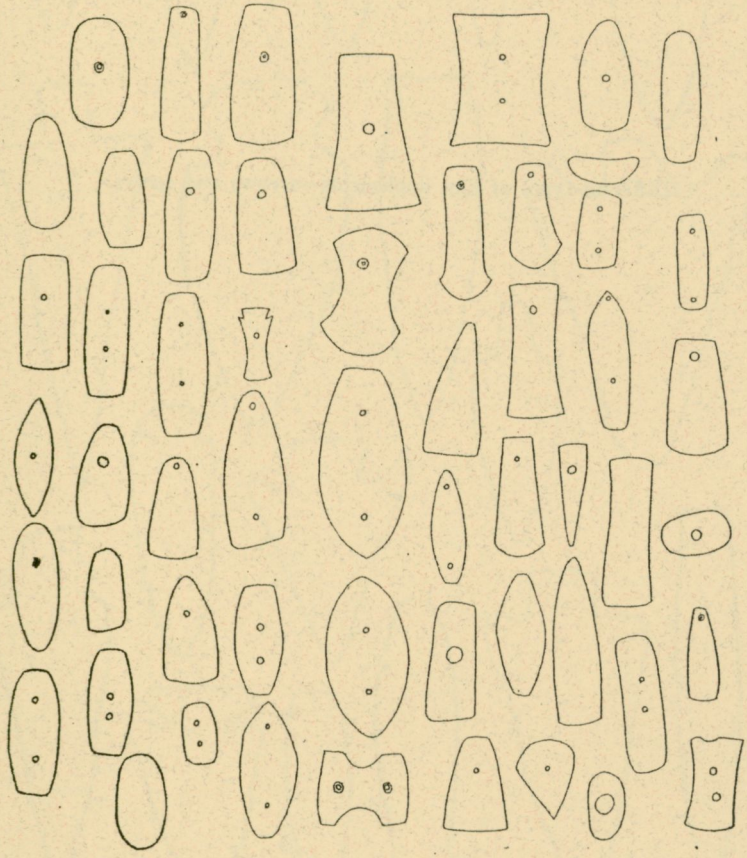
Here wandered red men, free as air,
O'er hill and valley everywhere.
But plowman now turns sacred sod
Where forest kings have ever trod,
Whose last sad echoing is a song
Recalling love for Washtenong.

Thou beauteous stream, thou's all aglow
So freely do thy waters flow;
Now, winding through high towers steep
By fertile vale thy murmurs sweep.
There sing thee on thy gentle song;
We love it well, fair Washtenong.

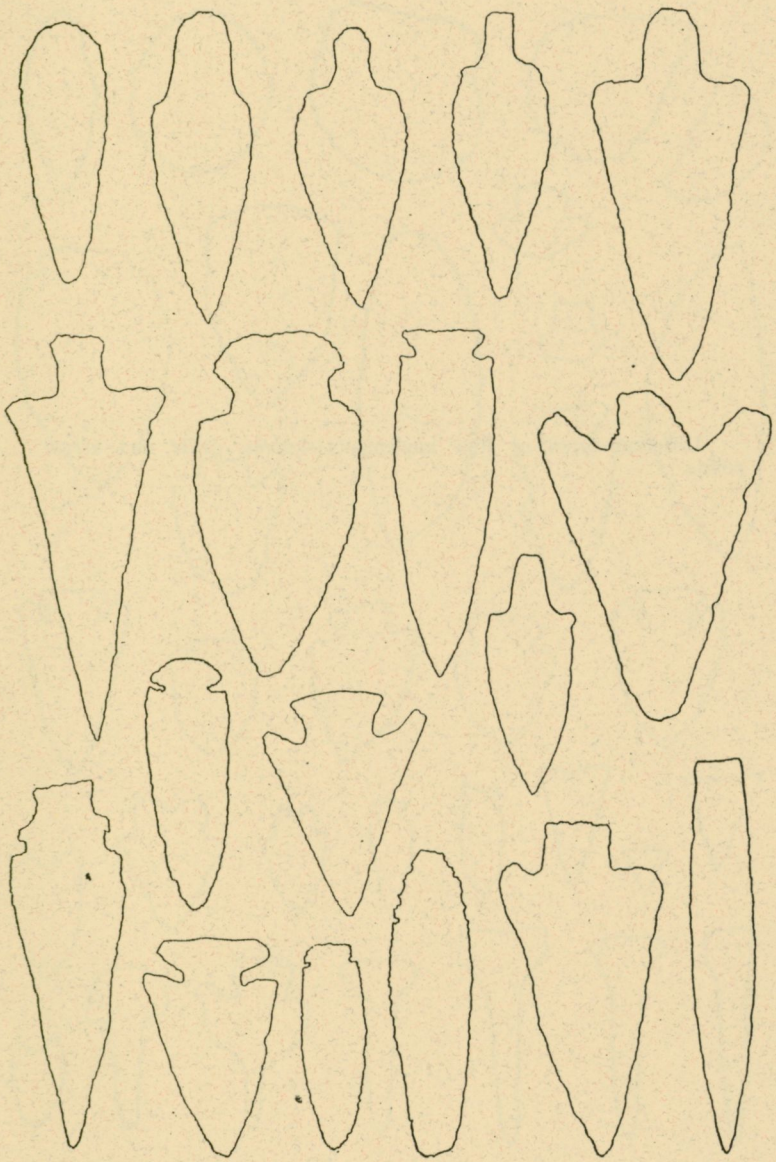
1. Banded slate butterfly stone.
2. Mottled granite, perforation partly bored.
3. Pendants and gorgets of various forms.



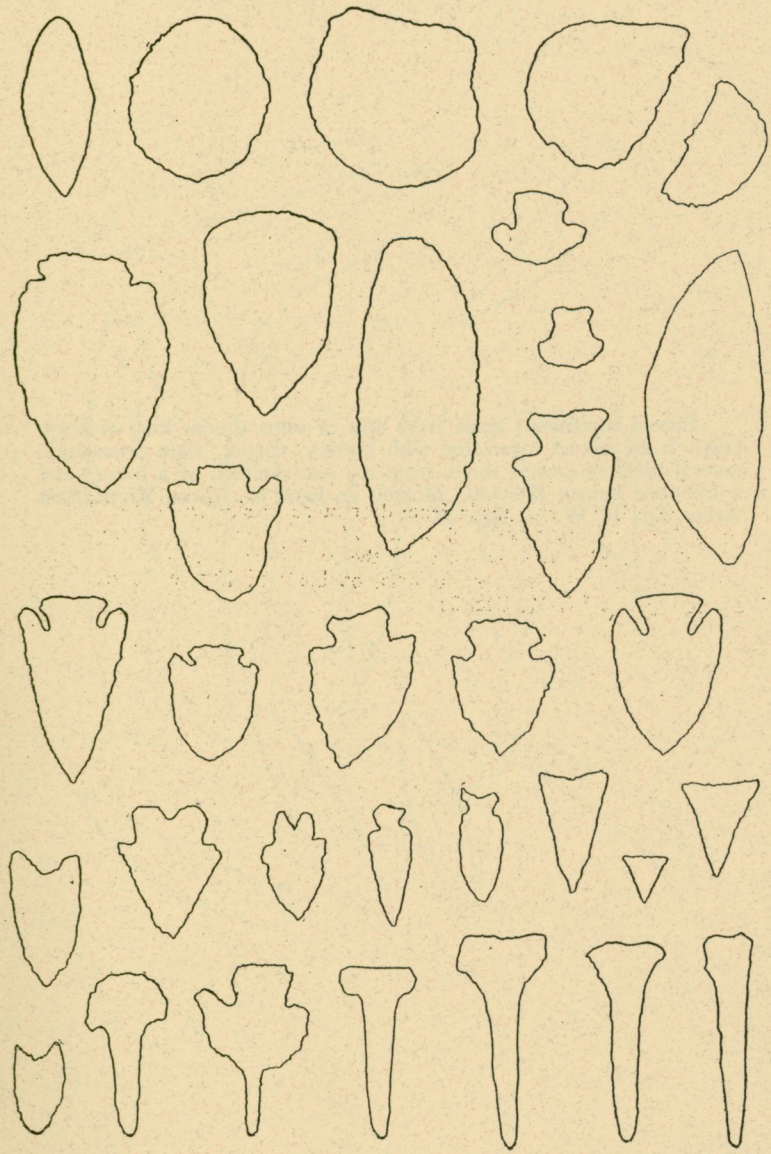




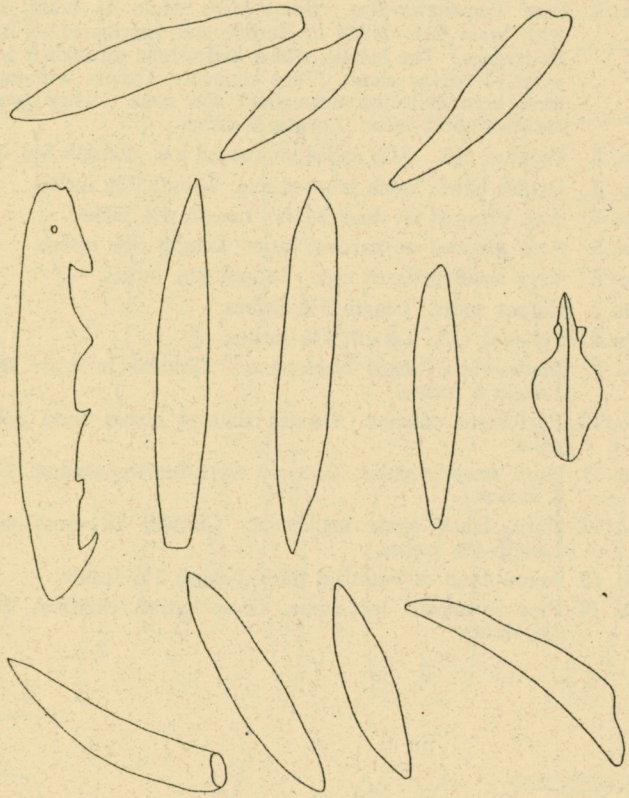
Different types of flint implements—arrows and spears.



Different types of flint implements—knives, drills and arrow points.



Eleven implements made from deer or some similar kind of horn, taken from mound associated with pottery, copper, slate ornaments, several hundred cowrie shells from the sea, skeleton of a beaver and a complete human skeleton. Mound, on bank of Huron River, Ann Arbor Tp., N. W. ¼, Sec. 36.



No. 1. Iron Tomahawk-pipe. Some were made of brass, others with brass bits. Made in Europe and distributed to Indians by traders. The handle, which had a hole through it lengthwise, served as stem. Very common. Others without pipe have been collected throughout the state. They have no archeaological value. Length, 9 inches.

No. 2. Polished celt. Also called ungrooved axe. Length 8½ inches.

No. 3. Double-bitted, stone grooved axe. Length 7½ inches.

No. 4. Axe, grooved on three faces. Length 6½ inches.

No. 5. Axe, grooved on narrow faces. Length 6½ inches.

No. 6. Very small polished celt. Length 2½ inches.

No. 7. Copper spear. Length 5½ inches.

No. 8. Polished celt. Length 5½ inches.

No. 9. Implement of hard black stone. Circular in cross section. Length 6 inches.

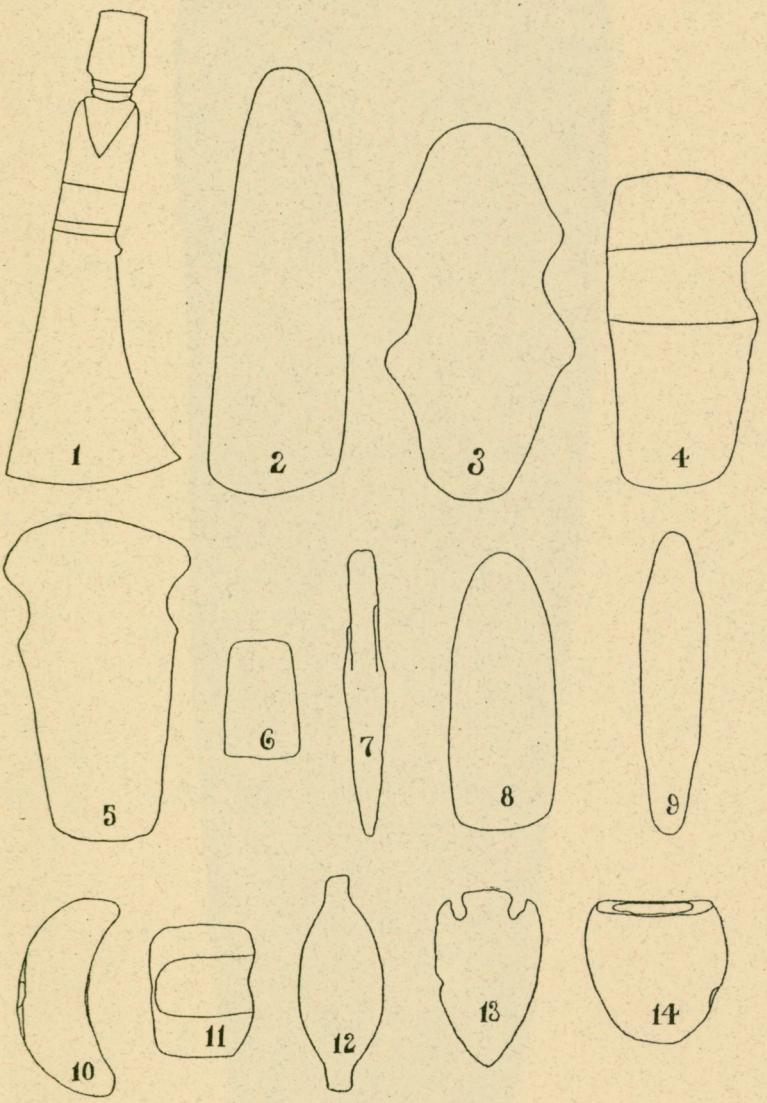
No. 10. Perforated crescent. Banded slate, 4 inches from point to point.

No. 11. Hard stone hammer. Grooved three-fourths around. Length 3 inches.

No. 12. Hard, black stone implement. Circular in cross section. Length 4½ inches.

No. 13. Arrow head of beautiful flint. Length 3½ inches.

No. 14. Pipe of smooth, soft stone. Cross-section, elliptical. Height 2¾ inches.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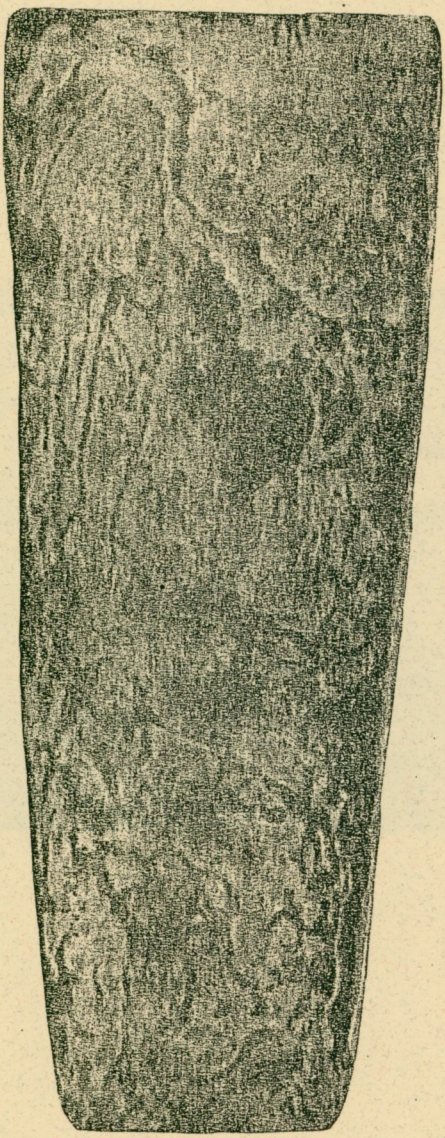
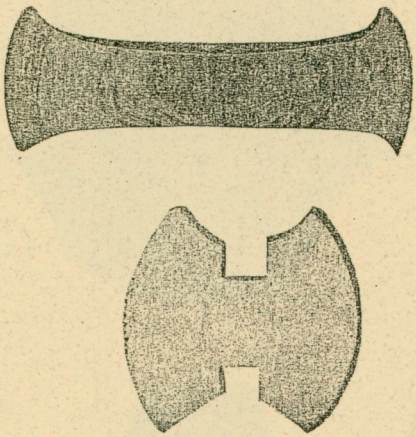
Copper tool, length 8 inches.

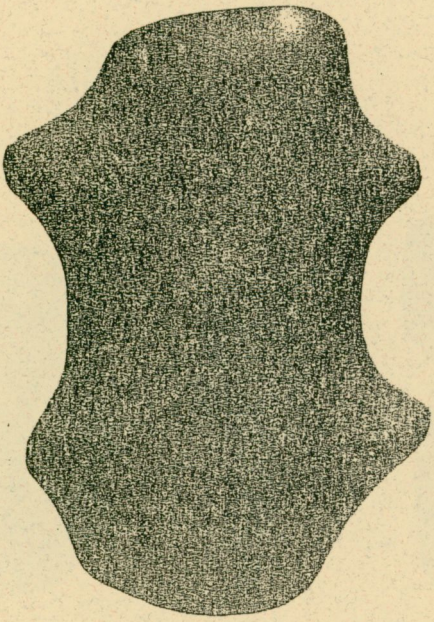


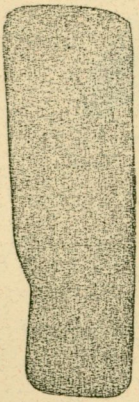
Dome-shaped Chippewa lodge—typical of the common Indian dwelling.

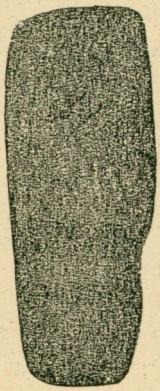
Ceremonial objects; holes vertical; banded slate.

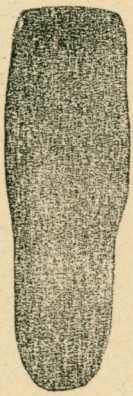


Double-bitted, wide-grooved ax, length 6 inches.
Granite chisels or small hatchets.

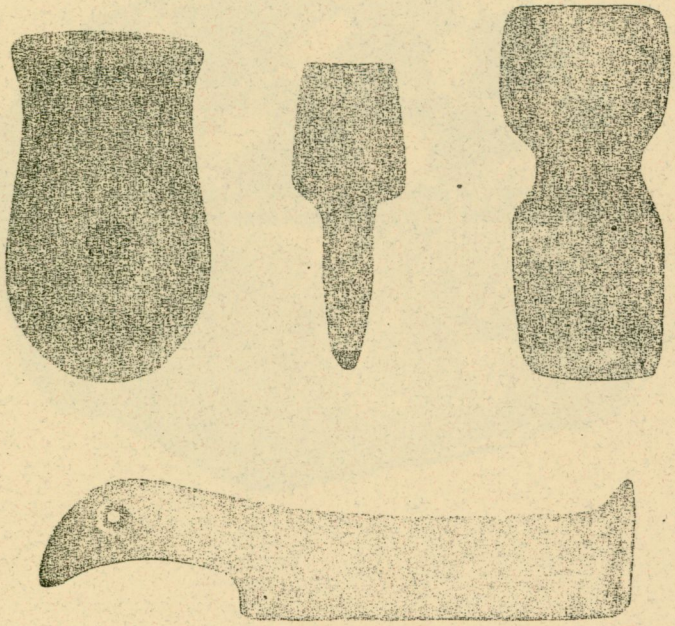




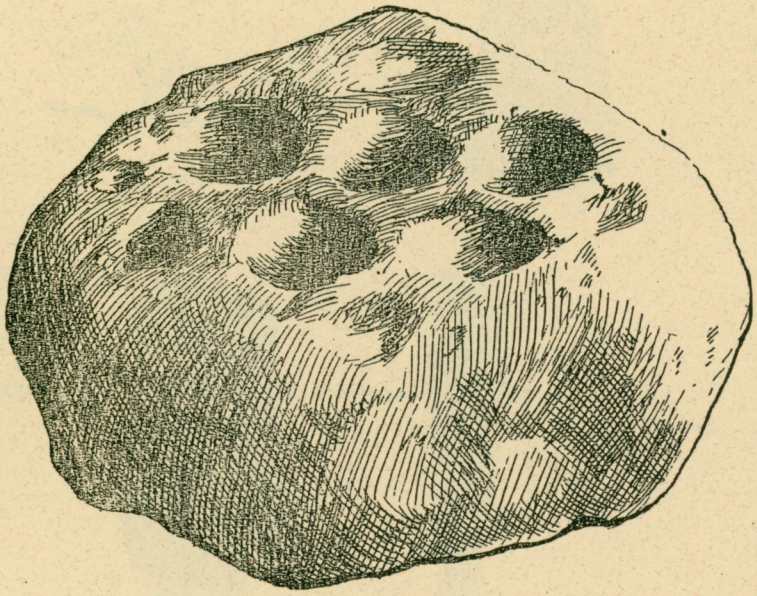




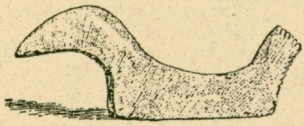
Three pipes and bird-stone.

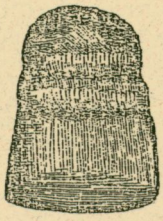


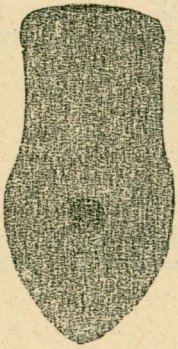
Pitted stone, 7 inches in diameter, 4 inches thick; 6 pits on one side, 7 on the other. Very common. May have been used in cracking nuts.

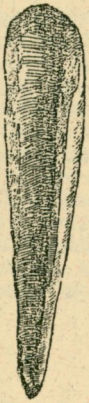


Bird-stone; double-grooved small stone chisel; pipe; long stone gouge.









Old Indian Trails designated by dotted lines.

1. Detroit and Chicago trail, also called Sauk Trail.
2. Trail to Monroe, Toledo and Sandusky Bay.
3. St. Joseph trail.
4. Washtenaw trail.
5. Dexter and Grand River trail.
6. Shiawassee trail.
7. North trail to Detroit River.
8. Plymouth trail.
9. Potawatomi trail.
10. Trail down Huron River.

Indian villages designated by triangle, Mounds by dots, Burying grounds by cross inside circle, Salt springs by S, Highways by double lines.

R.3E. R.4E. R.5E. R.6E. R.7E.

T. 1 S.

T. 2 S.

T. 3 S.

T. 4 S.

LYNDON · DEXTER · WEBSTER · NORTHFIELD · SALEM

CHELSEA · SYLVAN · LIMA CENTER · SCIO · ANN ARBOR · SUPERIOR

SHARON · FREEDOM · LODI · PITTSFIELD · YPSILANTI

MANCHESTER · BRIDGEWATER · SALINE · YORK · AUGUSTA

GEORGE WAHR, PUBLISHER, ANN ARBOR

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MAP SHOWING OLD INDIAN TRAILS, PREHISTORIC VILLAGE SITES, MOUNDS, BURYING GROUNDS, ETC.

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